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Influential Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung Jan 21 contained article by Erich Peter Neumann defending survey research method in general and FUB in particular, though taking exception to release of report. Neumann co-director of largest German opinion survey organization which does surveys for FedGov.

Pertinent extracts follow:

"The publication of an Amer survey on the attitudes of the Ger people towards National Socialism has attracted considerable attention. No one will be more astonished about this than the Reactions Analysis Staff in the American Headquarters in Berlin, which is responsible for this survey. This section of the High Commission, consisting of internationally recognized experts in the field of public opinion research, has in the past seven years written several hundred reports about the political climate in Germany, recording facts similar to those which now, over night and at a particular moment, have been magnified into an event of dramatic importance.....

".....the first effect of this Amer publication was that Ger politicians made statements declaring that studies of this kind are

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doubtful and unreliable. They omitted, however, to prove those assertions.....

"There is no doubt whatever that the surveys of the Reactions Analysis Staff are technically excellent and scientifically unobjectionable. Those who themselves work in this field have to admit that the results of the survey in question are of an order of magnitude comparable with what other investigations on the post facto attitudes of the people towards National Socialism have found....."

Referring to findings on National Socialism as reported in press, article states:

"But is it not - and this question seems, of course, to be justified - shocking and threatening when more than two fifths of the adult population believe that there was more good than evil in the ideas of National Socialism? Considered as a whole, one would have to agree that the masses of people interpret political formulae according to their own taste and abilities.

"So the concept National Socialism releases in other countries a chain-reaction of associate ideas, beginning with the concentration camps and ending with the murder of millions of Jews. In Germany these associations turn in another direction,

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"Since the Amer survey organization consists of experts who wish to do a thorough piece of work, they also have taken this into consideration as a matter of course. It has, therefore, repeatedly ascertained that the Ger population actually have in view when they credit National Socialism with something that is good. They have found that 46 percent of answers referred to National Socialism having secured a high living standard for the people and decreased unemployment, 38 per cent named good social care, 10 per cent mentioned order, discipline and security, the rest talked of the labor service, the modern highway system (Autobahnen), the Volkswagen, mitigation of class conflict and abolition of the reparations. Not in one single case was any detail of the wicked policy of National Socialism named as good.

"The same Amer survey - in November 1951 - asked what specifically had been bad in National Socialism. To this, 30 per cent mentioned the race policy, 29 per cent lack of personal freedom, 26 per cent war mongering, the rest: concentration camps, the persecution of the churches and the towering influence of the party.

"Therefore, it should not be overlooked that the German population

DISTRIBUTION Judge National Socialism in the perspective of how it had appeared to

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them: as a system of economic and social security, with persecution, suppression and war as its background. Every psychologist knows that the bulk of the people do not think in abstractions and do not differentiate but stick to the momentarily obvious or the limited detail. They are quite able to enjoy the memory of the economically carefree times of 1936 and 1937 without thinking in the same breath of the internal political terror of those years and of the bitter consequences of the war. But the Americans of the Reactions Analysis Staff found this out long ago. Through the regularly conducted sampling surveys they have obtained insights into the Ger mentality which appear to be just and reliable. In a report by the organization in Mehlen of Jan 10 1952, it is stated:

'But a hypothesis which deserves further study is that neo-Nazi orientations may not for many derive from seeing more good and less evil with the good, but rather derive from a belief or a hope that what are considered to be real goods that National Socialist ideas contained can be achieved while at the same time avoiding the evils the movement fell into.

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'Anti Nazis possibly share the judgment of most of the nations which fought Nazism that the above cannot be done - that it is the essence of Nazism that the "good" features were obtained in such ways as to lead inevitably to the evils. Such a point of view would maintain that war, suppression, violence, and concentration camps were inevitable consequences of the National Socialist philosophy. And that whatever prosperity obtained was built upon the quicksand of war preparations and exploitation of elements within Germany and peoples without.

'In such a framework of interpretation, a considerable part of present day neo-Nazism is not so much a willingness to have National Socialism restored with all its good and its evils, but a failure to have learned the linkage between Nazi goods and Nazi evils.

'If such an hypothesis appears plausible - and it should, of course, be subject to further investigation - one important implication that would seem to be entailed is that the wholesale condemnation of National Socialist ideas that implicitly or

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explicitly characterized the orientation of the occupation was logically and psychologically faulty.'

"Little remains to be added..... Surveys of this kind should never be used to serve political propaganda but only for better information about human beings, even though the politicians frequently do not want to be better informed about them....."

NOTE: Translation of Neumann article in its entirety is being airpouched together with copy of NIAS report. Comparison of two will show that some of the conclusions drawn in article regarding National Socialism are based on misconception of what is actually stated in present study. Report does not state there has been an increase in favorable attitudes toward National Socialism among the public as a whole. It does state there has been no decrease in approval, notwithstanding the greatly improved economic situation of the West German people. Evidence is brought forth, however, suggesting that approval of National Socialism is on the increase among two influential groups - youth and adherents of the Free Democratic Party.

R. BTR

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